[44 cont.]
him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality of untouchables.

2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer practiced in La Guajira. According to the information gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians, inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

PRIMITIVE MAN
Quarterly Bulletin
of the
Catholic Anthropological Conference

Vol. XIV | January and April, 1941 | Nos. 1 and 2

ASPECTS OF THE AVUNCULATE IN THE GUAJIRO CULTURE

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THE Guajira peninsula is situated in the northwest corner of Colombia, South America, roughly between the 71° and 73° W. long., and 11° and 12° N. lat. It is rather flat in contour with only some hill ranges in the eastern part. Rainfall is scarce and the vegetation is of a semi-arid type. The region is inhabited by one tribe of Indians, the Arawak-speaking Guajiro. Both culturally and linguistically the Guajira peninsula presents a uniform block.

The present writer visited the territory in the summer of 1940, but due to illness contracted there was forced to cut short his visit. Fairly full data were gathered on all phases of social culture. The present paper deals with certain aspects of one phase only, the avunculate.

The rôle of the maternal uncle is manifold in Guajiro culture, organized as the Guajiro are into maternal sibs. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, depending on the seniority of both uncle and nephew, but not on that of niece. In this paper we shall be concerned for the most part with the prescribed and voluntary relations between the oldest brother of a given woman and her eldest son, and between this oldest brother and his sisters' daughters. Other relations not involving these specified kin will be touched upon only incidentally for illustrative purposes.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Foreword

THIS book will take the reader to a peculiar corner of South America, the Guajira peninsula, the shores of which are washed by the warm Caribbean. It has a different climate and nature to those of other, adjacent, parts of the continent. Its inhabitants are Indians who differ largely from most of their fellows in our day, for they are warlike, proud and independent. They are the only people of mounted nomads among the natives of America and they are led by powerful chiefs. They have longest maintained their independence and their remarkable customs. They have been left in peace largely because their country is arid and unattractive, but also because they are not to be trifled with.

I have made three journeys among them. The first, in 1920, was the most exciting and fruitful. Three of us went, my wife, our photographer, Ottar Gladtvet, and I, and we remember it as though it were yesterday. It is that journey which provided the bulk of my material. I supplemented my observations of Indian life by a further short visit that my wife and I made to the peninsula in the 'thirties and by the results of some native researchers.

In 1955 I returned to Guajira, wanting to see how it was after the crisis caused by the recurrent droughts of the last decade. Almost all the cattle were said to have been killed and half the population to have perished or emigrated. When I got there, however, conditions had improved. Much was just as it always had been, and there is every indication that this fine and worth-while Indian people will overcome its difficulties and retain its individuality in many respects.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

551 told that among my own people I was a sort of medicine-man and chief combined.

Nowadays most of the Indians in Guajira acquire three first names: a Spanish one that the white men give them, a nickname, and their true, Indian name, which is secret except to members of their immediate family. When a girl is born, her father names her after her mother or some near female relative, but for everyday use she has a pet name [553] which is only dropped when she reaches marriageable age. She then acquires a new name, which she keeps for the rest of her life.

563 The Creoles called those in the border areas who were not Indians '*gente*', or just 'people'. They could scarcely be 101 called white, for many were as good as pure black, being the descendants of former slaves. When they told us in Rio Hacha that there were not any 'people' living in this or that village, they meant that there were none but Indians there. Those who were not Indians, that is those who wore trousers, also called themselves '*civilisados*', while the Indians called them arijuna.

115 We called our two old Indians Gaffer and Gammer, and the youngest 'The Lad'. We liked The Lad especially. He was 124 strong, merry and did the work of two. The fourth, who, strangely enough, had a crew cut and was supposed to be our interpreter, we called 'Bristles', and he learned to answer to that. He knew a little Spanish, but as an interpreter he was no use. When the Gaffer had been talking to us for a long time and we asked Bristles what he had said, the answer always was: 'Nothing'. Perhaps that was what the other's talk amounted to, but we should have preferred to have judged that for ourselves. We noticed, too, that if we had to scold the Gaffer, Bristles did not dare repeat what we said. With gestures and the few Guajiro words we knew we could make Gaffer realize that we were annoyed with him, but not always why.

291 The men wore nothing but the usual piece of cloth and 386 belt, the *nárete*, or, in Spanish, guayuco, which really means crupper, and sandals to protect their feet from the cactus spikes lying on the ground, but the Gammer was enveloped

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

THE GOAJIRO

By JOHN M. ARMSTRONG AND ALFRED MÉTRAUX

THE REGION

The Goajira Peninsula, projecting as part of Colombia northward into the Caribbean Sea, contains an area of about 5,000 square miles, bordered on the east by the Gulf of Venezuela. The broad level plain known as Lower Goajira occupies the base of the peninsula, while the northern extremity is known as Upper Goajira and is characterized by three distinct ranges of hills. These hills have a maximum height of 2,600 feet (about 780 m.) and are separated from each other by two broad plains which run from sea to sea. The country is dry and infertile, the vegetation consisting of divi-divi, cactus, pricklypear, and other xerophitic plants. Even these are absent where bare rock and stone slides preclude vegetation. Rivers are almost nonexistent, the country being cut in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy water courses which drain off rain as it falls. In the south and west, on the treeless prairies or savannas, the land is more hospitable. Here the Indians do most of their stock raising.

LOCATION AND HISTORY

The pastoral *Goajiro* who inhabit this peninsula (map 6) differ profoundly from the agricultural forest-dwelling *Motilones* and *Arhuaco* to the south. Juan de Castellanos, in his "Elegías de los Varones Ilustres" (1874), is the first to allude to these Indians, though he calls them *Cosina*. He states that in his time, about 1550, cattle were already abundant in the area. It seems that the adoption of pastoral life by the *Goajiro* took place soon after the Spanish settlement of that part of the continent. The name *Goajiro* was, however, already known in the 16th century and was applied first by Pedro Simón (1882–92). The first reliable ethnographic information about the *Goajiro* goes back to José Nicolás de la Rosa (Nicholás, 1901) and Antonio Julián, who both visited these Indians in the 18th century. Jahn (1927, pp. 119–136) has gathered the few data concerning the *Goajiro* which he found in the early literature. A short summary of the first description of these Indians is given by Hernández de Alba (1936, pp. 8–12).

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

ACQUIRING STATUS IN GUAJIRO SOCIETY

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The present paper is based upon field research carried out during a 26-day trip in the months of August and September 1958.[1] The writer had previously visited the Colombia part of the Guajira Peninsula in 1940 as a graduate student of anthropology.

The Guajira Peninsula occupies the north-central part of South America and lies between the countries of Colombia and Venezuela. Roughly speaking, about three-fourths of the peninsula belong to Colombia, while only one-fourth is within the boundaries of Venezuela. Ecologically and ethnographically, however, the peninsula is an unbroken block, occupied mainly by the Arawak-speaking Guajiro Indians. There are no attempts on the part of either Government to hold the Indians within the national territory and as, the frontier is practically unwatched, the natives go back and forth across the boundary much as they please.

The primary aim of the 1958 field trip was to find, if possible, a proper locale in which to establish, for the first time in Venezuela, a Pilot Center of Fundamental Education following the patterns—with the necessary modifications for local adaptation—already in practice in countries such as India, Mexico, Peru, etc. The Comisión Indigenista, a branch of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Venezuela, of which the present writer was a member of its technical staff at the time of the field trip, has, at present, elaborate and extensive plans to develop Fundamental Education in Venezuela, thanks to the untiring efforts of its Technical Advisor, Dr. Walter Dupouy. The aim is to bring, ultimately, all of the 100,000 indigenous inhabitants of the country into its national life.

Although major attention was given to the primary aim of the field trip, some time was left for pure research. This was aided by the fact that the present writer was in constant company of

[1] Although no direct quotations have been made from the literature, earlier works have been consulted for both historical and present-day ethnographical data.

10:Gusinde--1 E-5 (1954) 1961 SC13 Goajiro SC13

/531/

Contents:

1. Earlier Reports

2. Most Recent Reports

3. Concluding Remarks

In the middle of 1964 I set out from Caracas via Maracaibo to make anthropological observations in the settlement area of the Yupa Indians (1). In the narrow stretch of Venezuelan

1. M. Gusinde, "The Yupa Indians in Western Venezuela," Proceed. Americ. Philos. Soc., 100, 1956, pp. 197-222.

territory along the western shore of the Gulf of Maracaibo /Gulf of Venezuela/ I occasionally saw representatives of the Guajiro /Goajiro/ people (2) of every age and both sexes. It

2. The spelling Guajiro is preferred to Goajiro. Cf. "Etimología de la palabra 'Guajira /Etymology of the word Guajiro/" in Vegamian, pp. 11-33.

was my wish to see personally the astonishingly favorable adaptation of these Indians to their unusually dry and vegetation-poor surroundings, in order to compare their ecological conditions with those of the Bushmen in the Kalahari of South Africa (3). Already from Bogotá on, Professor Adolf Staffe of

105 /532 cont./
175 highest), Casta de Paguil, Casta de Guacharaca, Casta de
614 Mono, Casta de Machin, Casta de Gallinazo (this is the poorest)" /cited in English/ (ibid.). Explanatory additions are lacking. In the light of later successful inquiries, however, these few statements are given their full meaning.

Not until 1870 did A. Ernst publish an extended list of these totem groups (p. 329). He enumerated twelve of them and called them "tribes /Stämme/," which "have definite dwelling sites." He correctly separated from them the so-
101 called Cocinas, which "perhaps are a different tribe than the
175 rest of the populace and a vagabond gang of robbers that makes
571 all paths unsafe"(6).

6. Father Álvarez had already referred to them as "more barbarous than any of the Guagiros, and consequently less tractable and more dangerous, horrible and proud" /cited in English/ (p. 635). In the same sense Stutzer (p. 136) describes them as "dregs of all castes. They murder in order to rob. It is regarded as dangerous to pass through their area alone or in small groups..." They do not merit further mention.

175 A few years later the British engineer, F. Simons,
614 traveled through Guajira. He related in his excellent report to the Royal Geographical Society (1885): "The Guajiros are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient clans of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers... Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above /533/ /a table appears here/ /534/ their

[text continues on p. 6]

/538 cont./

614 had been insulted or harmed by them. Thus, the leader of
212 the black vultures /Coragyps atratus foetens/ had eaten a
773 head of cattle of the Epiayú, and he therefore remained the
825 symbol for this group. The caricari /Brazilian falcon/ de-
422 voured an animal of the Ipuana group. The Uriana people now have as their totem-animal the jaguar (Felis onca). The Sapuana group claims for itself the alcaraván /stone curlew/ (Burhinus bistriatus vocifer), the Jayariyú people the dog, the Apshana the kite, the Sijuana the wasp, the Urariyú the rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificius), the Jitnú people the fox (Canis azarae), the Soriyú people the cataneja (macaw, Ara), the Pausayú the black wasp, the Uyarayú the deer (Cervus alaphus), etc.

614 /539/ V. Gutiérrez (p. 170) then presents another myth.
773 This describes how the individual totem-clans were assigned their names and definite districts of residence after a fateful, tragic scene of disobedience of the creatures against their creator took place. This report, too, emphatically brings out the fact that Mareiwa personally, by his will and authority, introduced a totemistic way of life for the first living beings in Guajira. The myth has the dramatic conclusion: "For the last time Mareiwa spoke with them /the totem groups/ in order to take his leave. He therefore addressed them: It was my will that you should live here! I am leaving now; I shall be watching you from heaven."

614 The individual totem-districts with the thirty-four clan
● 101 names are noted on the map (14).[1] The appropriate clan-

193 14. The spelling and pronunciation
194 of the clan designations favored here
614 by and large resemble the Spanish sounds. Young Indians today feel a marked uncertainty in using the correct Spanish names for individual totem-animals; even in the pronunciation of the Guajiro designations

[1] [see p.9.--Analyst]

/539 cont./

193 194 614 [128] a foreign observer encounters slight variations — as has just been mentioned. For this reason, in the table (p. 5) I put in the names corresponding with precisely the sounds that I heard most frequently; I have taken the map (p. 9) unchanged from the original.

614 marks are found in the table. Every Guajiro knows them. 101 As an established tradition, every generation has taken over the details from the others, either as clan property or as a 178 duty. But as a result of so many hostile encounters of the 101 clans with one another — the Guajiro even in early times 578 made themselves known as very quarrelsome — the boundaries 614 of the individual clan-districts have shifted. Some clans have actually disappeared, either because their members were entirely destroyed or because individuals from them were incorporated into other clans. Therefore, the number and boundaries of the individual clan-districts were and are subject to insignificant fluctuations. I was unable to ascertain when the map provided — taken from a Colombian authority — was drawn; it appears to have come out around 1935. It is also found in V. Gutiérrez (p. xvi).

3. Concluding Remarks

614 Spanish writers have reported on "castas" in Guajira from the early colonial period; the designation corresponds to actual totemistic clans. Recently it could be demonstrated that some thirty of them have existed since antiquity. The members of any one clan were entitled by common law to move freely over the whole peninsula without being hindered [123] by the boundaries. When Petrullo (p. 155) states unmistakably,